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OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL

Monday - 9 August 1971

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25X1 [REDACTED] Met with Mr. Frank Slatinshek, Assistant Chief Counsel, House Armed Services Committee, and briefed him on the Agency critique of the 8 August Getler article in the Washington Post. He was most appreciative. I also briefed him on Soviet testing of the SS-9.

3. [REDACTED] On 7 August I met with Carl Marcy, Staff Director, Senator Foreign Relations Committee, and discussed the security problem involving the office of one of the Committee members, [REDACTED]

Discussing current legislation by the Senate, Marcy noted considerable support behind several bills of concern to the Agency. He said the Cooper bill, requiring the Agency to provide intelligence information to the congressional membership, had a number of sponsors and would probably be a subject of hearings by both the Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees.

Marcy spoke highly of the Agency responsiveness to the Committee, particularly in contrast to other Government departments.

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THE WASHINGTON POST

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# Russians Building New Missile Silos As Limit Is Sought

By Michael Getler  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The number of new underground missile silos now known to be under construction in the Soviet Union has risen to nearly 80, according to highly placed U.S. officials.

Work on about six and possibly a few more of these ICBM silos, it is estimated, was started after the dramatic

joint announcement by President Nixon and the Soviet leadership on May 20 that the two countries would seek an initial agreement this year on limiting the arms race by putting restrictions on both offensive and defense nuclear weapons.

U.S. officials remain optimistic that such an agreement will be reached. But, they add, the dimensions of the Soviet silo construction program — as it continues to be unfolded by U.S. picture-taking reconnaissance satellites — is causing increasing concern within the administration and among U.S. negotiators at the Strategic Arms Limitations (SALT) talks at Helsinki.

The main U.S. goal at SALT is to freeze the number of nuclear-tipped ICBMs in each nation's arsenal at a level that would make a surprise attack unlikely.

If such a freeze is negotiated, officials explain that it will probably be tied to some future cutoff date beyond which neither nation could add any more land-based ICBMs to its force.

The fact that the Russians now have about 80 new silos in various stages of construction — and possibly more as yet undetected — is making the setting of that cutoff date increasingly important from the U.S. viewpoint.

The question is how many of these silos — particularly those designed to hold the mammoth SS-9 type ICBM — the United States is willing to see completed and loaded before an agreement is reached.

Despite the fact that more new silo construction keeps showing up on satellite pictures, U.S. officials said that the impact on U.S. security and on the SALT talks is not as ominous as the numbers alone might indicate — at least at this time.

One factor is that late in May, when the count of new silos had reached about 60, the Pentagon confirmed a press report which revealed that two-thirds of the new silos were probably for the much smaller Soviet SS-11 ICBM, rather than the SS-9. The SS-11, of which the Soviets already have about 900, is considered to be not nearly accurate or powerful enough to knock out U.S. land-based Minuteman ICBMs. This two-thirds ratio has not changed since May.

## Major Objective

A major U.S. objective since the SALT talks began in 1969 has been to keep the number of the more threatening SS-9s from going much beyond 300. Officials say this is still the goal. The Russians now have about 288 of these big missiles, having halted construction on 8 silos late last year, apparently to wait for the more modern ones now being built.

Based upon the number of new silos spotted thus far and the ratios cited, about 24 to 30 of the new holes could be for SS-9-type missiles. Thus, while limiting the number of these silos to be completed will no doubt be pressed as a negotiating point by the U.S., the totals are still not much beyond

Thus far, no missiles have been installed in any of the new silos, officials say, and there is still no sign that any large new ICBM or greatly improved version of the SS-9 has been flight tested. The existing version of the SS-9 and versions carrying three multiple warheads tested thus far are not considered to be accurate enough to knock out the U.S. Minuteman force, as was once feared.

Should the Soviets eventually develop a much more accurate multi-headed version of the SS-9 or a new missile, then the number of these weapons in their inventory becomes extremely important if the 1,000-missile U.S. Minuteman force is not to be truly threatened.

## More Confident

Officials say with increased — though not complete — confidence that the silo construction program appears to be an effort by the Russians to build better, more protective silos for their missiles, either current or modified versions, rather than one designed for a completely new class of offensive weapons.

Building better protection for ICBMs is, in general, viewed as less provocative than simply building more ICBMs of the type that would normally be used only in a first strike or surprise attack.

The U.S. is taking similar measures to build more blast resistant silos for 550 of the 1,000-missile Minuteman force. The U.S. is also rapidly re-equipping the hundreds of the single-warhead Minutemen with two to three warheads each, a move which a number of arms control advocates believe provoked the new Soviet building program.

The new Soviet silo effort is believed to have got underway last winter, but it was first detected by the U.S. early this year.

## Revealed by Jackson

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), who first broke the news that the Soviets were building huge new ICBM silos on TV early in March, has since estimated that the Soviets could have 70 silos by this fall. Officials explain the fact that they already have about 80 by saying that earlier estimates were made without complete satellite coverage and without knowing how much had already been done.

Also, some Pentagon sources say that for some time, the U.S. didn't think to look in the SS-11 bases to see if new silos were also being built there.

New Soviet tests of defensive weapons are also causing concern to U.S. officials, though not as much as the ICBM silo problems.

## Testing Stepped Up

Officials say that in the past six months, the Soviets have stepped up testing of new ABM radars and two new ABM interceptor missiles at the Soviet test complex at Sary Shagan in south central Russia.

Of the new missiles being tested, informants say one is longer-range than the current Soviet Galosh ABM missile now deployed around Moscow. The other is shorter-range than Galosh but does not appear to be the speedy type of Sprint missile which the U.S. Safeguard ABM system will use to try to catch any incoming ICBMs that get past the longer-range Spartan interceptors. The potential use of the shorter-range Russian ABM remains a puzzle to U.S. experts.

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